

Development of Human Society: Shah Wali Allah's Concept of Irtifaqat

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Social Sciences evolve around the rise and fall of societies, nations, states and the institutions which provide the format of society. Hence questions related to society and its institutions which throw light upon the history and evolution of human society are of vital importance. Questions, such as why society came into existence?, what is its importance and purpose?, what is its structure and how its different institutions relate to and differ from formats are very important.

One way to measure the evolution of society is to look at its development from bedouin to sedentary life. During that process society needs to develop new institutions, customs, laws, ethics, leadership, religion, economy, politics, state and government which play a leading role in the process of evolution. The questions, why and how these institutions come into existence and how they take part in the evolution towards perfection and decline of society are of our immediate concern. The best system for society and future of society have also relative importance.

A study of the development of human society has its own importance. By keeping in mind the historical development of human social institutions, one can critically analyse the working of these institutions. In this scholars the above issues are seen in the light of their thorough analysis done by Shah Wali Allah.

Shah Wali Allah derives his concept of historical development of human society from his concept of evolution, thoroughly going into all the

system of the universe. To him all development is based on natural law and consists of the traid of the human intellect. Religion, according to Shah Wali Allah is the foundation stone of this development, and the basic or primary unit of historical significance. He divides the development of human society into four periods of civilisation (*Irtifaqat*), first as *Badavi*. (Nomad), second as *Hazari* (civilised town), third as *Madani* (City-State) and fourth as *Khilafah* (Universal state for the future), and three of ignorance (*Jahiliyah*) in between. But they are neither separated nor in different with each other and are like a one whole. That development has a universality of purpose and approach but there is diversity in methods, means and ways. Shah Wali Allah studies development under the caption of "*Irtifaqat*" which also points out the nature of development, nomad, village, city sate and government and universal state and nation, in the society. The first three as historical development and last one as future prediction. Through the first three, he judges the development of the course of history and then predicts its future. He points out the institutions coming into existence during the course of historical development and a universal state for future urges and development of humanity which would provide man with the opportunities for a powerful and devoted spiritual life, linked with the nature of 'Alam-i-Mithal and Mala-i-A`la.

The chief characteristic of his thought, which is universally present in every branch of his thought: is the idea of evolution. According to Shah Wali Allah everything in the universe is undergoing a constant process of evolution, continuity and change. The idea of evolution is a sort of emanation (*Tadalli*), and the Shah has discussed the idea in his books *Budur-al-Bazighah*, *Sata`i* and *Hujjat*. In evolution the will of God firstly appeared in the form of minerals, then as plants and in the third phase animal beings came into existence and became the centre of the universe and the divine will. Shah Wali Allah believers that as a fourth step of the universal plan of social evolution, Man came into existence from the animal being;¹ according to the system of God's attribute of planning (*Tadbir*) and the seal of the system i.e. mercy (*Rahmat*).²

Shah Wali Allah points out two types of natural human instincts: bestial or animal soul and the angelic soul (*Taba-i-Bahimiyah* and

1. Shah Wali Allah, *Budur-al-Bazighah*, (Eng. Tra.) (Lahore, 1986), see Forms (here after as *Budur*).

2. *Ibid.*, 13, 25.

Malakiyah).³ He has discussed the nature of man in *Badur-al-Bazighah*. He points out the two main characteristics of the animal soul the external, such as physical make up, colour, shape and measurements, and the internal, such as the possession of the perceptive faculty and the ability to develop the means of survival.⁴ He distinguishes those animals having a gregarious instinct from those who do not have it or are non-gregarious. He distinguishes man from all the other animals possessing gregarious behaviour and character. He seems to be of the opinion that animals generally satisfy their needs in their individual capacity, but some like bees, by instinct are bound to corporate activity. Of course man is a gregarious animal, or as Rousseau has observed, a social animal. This aspect leads Shah Wali Allah to his attitude of looking for the origin of human qualities in the animal world. Man, for instance, inherits the qualities of sympathy, and responsiveness which is a source of what is called responsibility or the ability to respond, and mutual defence and co-operation for the satisfaction of primary needs.⁵ He believes that all these qualities form the structure of society.

Al-Madhhab-al-Taba'i of development

Shah Wali Allah analyses the development of human society and the strength of its structure as man's instinct (*Jabilli*), natural (*Taba'i*) and species (*Nui*) qualities.⁶ Man possesses the urge for development according to his natural properties, and, in this regard, the natural sciences help him along with natural revelations. He calls it Al-Mazhab-al-Taba'i. Dr Sabih Ahmad Kamali is of the opinion that it "can be described as a theory of natural law, in the sense that the latter has acquired in western philosophy". As he sees it, it is a whole development of human society including ideal (*Fitrah*), and is the same as *Hobbes* who uses the word "natural law" in his *Leviathan* for all the development till the political.⁷ This natural law consists of a triad of distinguishing qualities of man.

3. Saeeda Khatoon, "Shah Wali Allah's Philosophy of Society" in *Hamdard Islamicus* (Jr. Karachi), vol. 7/4, 67.

4. *Budur*, 31.

5. Saeeda Khatoon, "Shah Wali Allah's Philosophy of Society", *Hamdard Islamicus* (Karachi), vol. vii/4, 67; *Hujjat al-Balighah*, (here after as *Hujjat*.) 113-114.

6. *Hujjat*, 72-73, 133.

7. Sabih Ahmad Kamali, *Types of Islamic Thought* (Aligarh: n.p., 1968), 124.

Triad of distinguishing qualities of man

In *Budur* and *Hujjat* Shah Wali Allah has discussed the natural qualities of man that result in the development of human society. The characteristic of the human species, its nature and its properties are numerous, but man's distinction from all other animal species is due to a triad of qualities of intellect, developed through pure conception (*Tawwahahum*), deliberation and other qualities of intelligence common to man and animal⁸ including universality of purpose, (Al-Rai-i-Kulli) wit or aesthetic sense (*Zarafah*) and an urge for perfection through his capacity of knowledge resulting in invention and imitation (*Ijad-o-Taqlid*).⁹ Against the traditional view like that of *Al-Farabi*, he does not lay emphasis on the intellect but on advanced qualities and faculties of the human intellect.

Al-Rai-Kulli (universality of purpose)

All animals share the pursuit of immediate physical needs such as eating, drinking, sex, etc., according to their species' peculiar requirements. God taught a bee to partake of varied fruits, to make a dwelling where other bees may join it. Likewise, God has inspired human beings not only to seek their needs, but also their beneficial ends. An animal acts for its own personal benefit (Al-Rai-i-Juzi) but man by nature is motivated to act for the general good of human society and this helps to create a well-ordered society. Man tries to achieve his purpose and goal without urging from his physical being.¹⁰ This goal or purpose always remains a "purely rational cause".¹¹ He does not merely want to fulfil his needs of disposition but also wants to create and bring to society a refined, reformed and a good social order. He fulfils his material needs for the perfection of morals and purification of his animal soul.¹² Against all the traditional Muslim thinkers including Ibn Khaldun,¹³ Shah Wali Allah does not include the faculty of intellect as an essential difference between a human being and an animal. Dr. Al-Ghazali is of the opinion that, in this

8. Abdul Wahid Halepota, *Philosophy of Shah Wali Allah*, (Lahore: n.p.,1970), 32.

9. *Budur*, 32,118; *Hujjat*, 110.

10. *Budur*, 32.

11. Muhammad Al-Ghazali, "Universal Social Culture and Empirico-Revelation Paradigm of Shah Waliullah", *American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, vol.2/1, 13-24.

12. *Hujjat*, 110.

13. Muhsin Mahdi, *Ibn Khaldun's Philosophy of History*, (London: n.p.,1957).

manner, Shah Wali Allah emphasises underlying motives as opposed to the potencies,¹⁴ which lead to the universal principles under his rational approach.¹⁵

Zarafah (wit or aesthetic sense)

The second distinguishing quality of man is Zarafah which is translated as aesthetic sense or wit. It means that to man the satisfaction of the needs of the instinct is supplemented by an aesthetic sense,¹⁶ which produces its results in the form of culture.¹⁷ Animals seeks only to ward off heat and cold, and hunger and thirst and relieve sexual tension, while human beings want to obtain endless pleasure and joy in doing the same things. For that purpose a man wants a beautiful spouse delicious food, elegant dress and comfortable house.¹⁸ He produces works of beauty and splendour to refresh his eyes and gladden his soul.¹⁹ These desires may be rooted in his animal disposition but he uses his intelligence to satisfy them in an accomplished and refined manner. Therefore a great deal of human resources and potentials are spent on achieving progressive refinements and various modes of accomplishment as well as enjoying the pleasure of food, sex and housing.²⁰

Takammul (urge for perfection)

For Shah Wali Allah, the third primary distinctive quality of man is the urge for perfection.²¹ There exist degrees of intelligence and understanding in man. In this regard he has the capacity of knowledge, not only of a pragmatic nature but also revelatory.²² Animal knowledge merely serves him to obtain the means of subsistence when prompted by immediate needs. But man consciously and deliberately wants perfection

14. Muhammad Al-Ghazali, 18.

15. *Budur*, 118.

16. Muhammad Al-Ghazali, 18.

17. *Budur*, 32.

18. *Hujjat*, 110.

19. *Budur*, 118.

20. Muhammad Al-Ghazali, 18-19.

21. *Budur*, 118.

22. *Hujjat*, 74.

through knowledge and desires always to perfect himself.²³ The practical use of knowledge, either revelatory or pragmatic, leads man to invention and those who are inferior in capacity, to imitation.²⁴ In this regard Shah Wali Allah entitles the quality under different captions as the urge for perfection, the capacity for knowledge and the instinct of invention and imitation.

The trait of qualities of intellect not only distinguishes man from animal beings but also illuminates the disposition of man which leads to the development of human society. It can best be understood as the main cause or natural law, (as Kamali says) for development of human society throughout history.

***Adalah* or *tawazun*: the way of development**

To Shah Wali Allah *Adalah* (justice) is necessary for the harmonious development of human society. It means justice or balance (*Tawazun*). Shah Wali Allah has discussed this feature in *Hujjat* under four principal qualities for the acquisition of "Sa'adah" (satisfaction or happiness); Taharah (chastity), Akhbat (to be humble before God), Samahah (magnanimity), *Adalah* (justice or balance)²⁵ and also as a religious obligation. He believes that in all methods and practices *adalah* or *tawazun* should be maintained and man should not indulge in extremism in any way. To him *adalah* in every field of life can bring humanity to the height of its development. Man gets all his systems and structured facilities through *adalah*. "When it expresses itself in dress, manners and mores, it goes by the name of *adab* (etiquettes). In matters relating to income and expenditure we call it economy, and in the affairs of state it is named politics".²⁶

Source of development: knowledge

To Shah Wali Allah knowledge is the primary source of development of human society. He classifies knowledge in respect of sources into two categories revolutionary and the experimental sciences.²⁷

23. *Budur*, 32.

24. *Hujjat*, 110-111.

25. *Ibid.*, 147.

26. M.M. Sharif, *History of Muslim Philosophy*, (Wiesbaden, 1953), 1560.

27. *Hujjat*, 73.

He is of the opinion that all sciences are based on revelation.²⁸ He sees all work going on under the guidance of God. God reveals His guidance in different ways.²⁹ Through discussion, he stresses the argument that under these revelations man gets guidance to solve his problems and to fulfil his needs. The knowledge that man achieves through revelation gives birth to the experimental source of knowledge by exercising revelatory knowledge.³⁰ So the process of continuity and change, leading to the evolution of human society is based upon the revolutionary source of knowledge.

Shah Wali Allah believes that the best and most perfect source of knowledge is prophetic revelation (wahy) that forms and constitutes some sort of religion. If prophetic knowledge is the source of development of history, it means that it is infact religion and that it is prophets who plan the development of human society. As he sees it, religion is the foundation of the development of human society. The same view has been derived from the Shah's works especially from Tawil-al-Ahadith. He thinks that religion illuminates the most important events of human society. Infact by the development of religion, Shah Wali Allah measures the development of the human society. By studying prophetic religion and by measuring the development under religion, he tries to measure the development of humanity. In this regard Shah Wali Allah divides human history into four phases of development, not separated from one another but mingled with. These four phases: nomad, civilised town, city state and universal state present the four successive periods of the continuous rise of human society. Among them Shah Wali Allah points out three periods of ignorance, mainly portraying the decline of religion. The fourth is presented as future development. Shah Wali Allah in this regard analyses the "whole period of history"³¹ under his concept of Irtifaqat.

Irtifaqat

Shah Wali Allah discusses development of human society under the caption of Irtifaqat and analyses in this way the whole period of history in regard to man's achievements. He divides the four phases of human development into four Irtifaqat. The word "Irtifaqat" is of great

28. Shah Wali Allah, *Al-Kabir-al-Kathir*, (Lahore: n.p., 1981), 4th Khazava.

29. Shah Wali Allah, *Satat, Sata*, 17.

30. *Hujjat*, 111.

31. Sabih Ahmad Kamali, "Irtifaqat", in *Iqbal*, vol.ii/1 (Lahore: 1963).

importance in the Shah's scheme of thinking and is used in many different meanings. It is a plural of *Irtifaq* and is derived from "Rifq" and is measured in different ways and with so many different states linked with each other or synonymous to each other. In "Al-Mawrid" it is treated in different ways with different compositions:

Rifq: as kindness, gentleness, leniency, lenity, mildness, clemency, mercy, indulgence.

Rafiq, Rafaga, Rafuuqa: to treat with kindness, treat gently, to be kind to, gentle to, friendly to, nice to, to be lenient toward, mild toward.

Irtifa': to rise, to go up, ascend, mount up, tower, climb, upraise, advance, to sky rocket, to be or become high, etc.

Irtifaqa: to profit by or from, benefit from, take advantage of, make use of etc.³²

Common to all the meanings the word is used to indicate a subtle and civilised attitude. In the first two in the sense of advancement and to rise in the second, and in the fourth it means to take advantage or profit by someone or something. In *Lughat-al-Quran*, Perviz has defined it as 'to agree with'.³³ It also means to bring to easiness. And to make common efforts to attain easement.³⁴ That last meaning is used by Shah Wali Allah himself. In *Hujjat* he writes: "Every species is granted natural revelations to fulfil its species needs, but the human species is granted some advanced revelations for the acquisition of wants and needs and to fulfil them in an easy way. The practical forms in which these revelations emerge are called *Irtifaqat*".³⁵

But in spite of the Shah's own statements the word is translated into different meaning as a term. Maulana Manzoor-al-Wajidi has translated it as "useful effort" (*Tadbir-i-nafla*).³⁶ Maulana Sindhi has translated it as

32. Rohi Balbaki, *Al-Mawrid* (Arabic), (Beirut:1993), see "Irtifaqat".

33. Ghulam Ahmad Perwiz, *Lughat-al-Quran*, (Lahore:n.p., n.d.), see "Irtifaqat".

34. Abdul Wahid Halepota, "Shah Wali Allah ki Baaz Imrani Istalahat, (hereafter as Istalahat), *Al-Rahim*, June 1969, 69-73.

35. *Hujjat*, 109-110.

36. Maulana Manzoor al-Wagidi is one of the translators of Shah Waliullah's *Hujjatullah Al-Balighah*. His translation with original text was published by Sheikh Ghulam Ali and Sons.

“human institutions”³⁷. But most of the scholars including Baljon and Al-Ghazali have translated it as “socio-economic development”³⁸. To Dr. Sabih Ahmad Kamali it is “civilization and its devices”³⁹ and to Abdul Wahid Halepota, “refined and civilised modes of and patterns of satisfying needs”⁴⁰.

All this implies the attempts made to bring easiness, delicacy and subtlety into human life. *Tadbir-i-Nafsa* indicates those prophetable efforts which can bring easiness and subtlety into human life or the institution made for that purpose. Socio-economic development too can be regarded as a meaning in the modern idiom.

Dr. Abdul Waid while discussing the concept of *Irtifaqat* as easiness, explains that the fulfilment of wants is not static. Every day there appear hangs in the old ways of technology and it continues to influence all aspects of human life. That whole system is called *Irtifaqat*.⁴¹

For a true perception of the term it is necessary to analyse it with the triad of qualities of intellect. Among them universal purpose deals with the human society, while capacity for knowledge is a means for invention. The motivating force behind both is aesthetic sense. It is *Zarafa* which uses the qualities and institutions of both the capacities. This is taken as a subtle, elegant and gentle attitude. The term can best be defined as the development of useful institutions and efforts made in history to bring about subtlety, elegance and easement for the satisfaction of the aesthetic sense of the human species in order to lead human society to progress. All the human institutions in their beginning were thought as an easement for the satisfaction of the aesthetic sense. But as human society developed, these became necessary. Aesthetic sense belongs to the spirit and is immeasurable. It presents the qualities of spirit along with matter, and a harmonious development of human society.

Although nearly all scholars have used *irtifaqat* to mean material development, it clear that Shah Wali Allah takes it not only as socio-

37. Maulana Ubaydullah Sindhi, *Shah Wali Allah awr unka Falsafa*, (Lahore: n.p., n.d., 1947).

38. Sabih Ahmad Kamali, *Islamic Thought*.

39. Halepota, “Shah Wali Allah ki Istalahat”, *Al-Rahim*, November, 1965, 72.

40. *Ibid.*, 71.

41. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, “Shah Wali Allah of Delhi: His Thought and Contribution”, *Islamic Culture*, vol.54:3, 148.

economic but also as spiritual development. K.A. Nizami is the only scholar who has thrown light upon the term as "efforts of man in the social and spiritual spheres".⁴² If it should be confined only to social sphere then too it can not be separated from the religion; a baseline of human development in the Shah's thought. Shah himself has adopted the same method, and in his *Tawil*, he studies the four stage of human development under four phases of religious development. He is of the opinion that socio-economic development provides grounds for the working and practice of religious ethico-moral aspects. Similarly *Zarafa* by means of al-Rai-Kulli and urge for perfection through knowledge are the foundation stone of *Irtifaqat* and it includes religion too. The efforts made and institutions developed to satisfy man's subtle attitude, helped to develop human society and resulted in the establishment of civilisation. Thus Abdul Wahid Halepota calls it "the refined and civilised modes"⁴³ and Kamali as "Civilization" and "divices of civilisation".⁴⁴

Shah Wali Allah's division of the four *Irtifaqat*: first as *Badavi*, (nomad), second as *Hazari* (civilised town), third as *Madani* (city-state) and fourth as *Khilafah* (universal state for the future)⁴⁵ is the same as that of the four stages of development as individual, i.e. childhood, adolescence, manhood and maturity. These four stages also present the respective importance of institutions and affairs.⁴⁶

Every *irtifaq* has some bases specially:

- (a) a wide spread pattern of conduct,
- (b) already developed *Irtifaqat*, and,
- (c) universally accepted kinds of knowledge.⁴⁷

The first stage represents a stage of development based on the level of animal, just as minerals represent a stage that follows the elements. The second represents a stage of development based on the level of first, just as plants represent a stage of development that follows minerals. The third

42. Halepota, *Philosophy of Shah Wali Allah*, 71.

43. Kamali.

44. *Hujjat*, 111-112.

45. Halepota, *Philosophy of Shah Wali Allah*, 41.

46. *Budur*, 59-50.

47. *Ibid*.

is based on the second just as animals follow plants and fourth based on the third just as man follows animals.⁴⁸

First Irtifaq: The primitive society

According to Shah Wali Allah, the first stage of human development fulfilled the basic needs of man and laid the foundation of human development. In that phase man learned necessary methods and required equipments to make life easy. Among these two of the most important, in the view of the Shah are:

1. Communication skill
2. Satisfaction of needs.⁴⁹

Language

Animals possess the attribute of sound to express emotion in natural way, but man in addition has a natural gift of expression in words. In the first *Irtifaq* man acquires the power of speech so that he can phrase his thought in a natural way unimpeded by convention. That is the first in the first *Irtifaq*. The circle is then enlarged by making use of speech to coin words related to the things conceived in the mind and by varying modulations in his voice to express various needs until at last the languages become distinct and different.⁵⁰

In this way man evolved a form of speech with which he can convey his feelings and thoughts to others and can take their help if necessary at any time. This is the thing that is responsible for man's actual start on the path of progress. The language has provided man with the means of exchanging thoughts and feelings with the people around him, and connecting the past with the future. It is through the help of language that facts are recorded and passed on to posterity and civilisation is kept alive.⁵¹

48. *Ibid.*

49. *Ibid.*

50. Fazal Mehmud Asiri, "Shah Wali Allah on Social Evolution", in *Vishva Bharti Annals*, vol.4,26.

51. *Hujjat*, 113-114.

Satisfaction needs

The first stage of human evolution evolved certain characteristics, due to which human beings are distinguished from animals. At that stage the human being made a start at a superior level of behaviour. Some of these distinctions are rudimentary ideas, of sowing, of digging a well, starting for the first time the process of cooking food and initiating simple ways of doing all these acts, farming taming of animals to use them for various domestic purposes, building shelter out of caves or straw, making dress out of skin, etc.

These rudimentary modes of satisfying primary needs of life were essential for physical survival of the individual and his progeny were evolved by individual human beings.⁵²

Second phase of *irtifaqat*

Man's mind could only enter that second phase if it was not troubled by hunger, thirst, sexual lust and other needs that man had faced during the first *Irtafaq*. Any impediment in the way of advancement creates the same effects as the thwarting of the impulse of innate disposition results in discontentment and unhappiness Shah Wali Allah confines the second *Irtifaq* to five kinds of wisdom which indicate the five departments developed in human society.⁵³

Hikmat-i-Mu'ashiyah

Wisdom pertaining to the way of living with reference to appropriate way of conduct and practical knowledge about eating, drinking etiquettes, manner of conversation, way of travelling, etc. In *Hujjat* Shah Wali Allah calls it "Fun-i-adab-i-Ma'ash" (the art of the etiquettes of living).⁵⁴

Hikmat-i-Iqtasabiyah

Wisdom of earning and organising livelihood pushed the people into various occupations benefiting their personal capabilities and the means that help them in their crafts.⁵⁵ It is linked with efforts for a high standard

52. *Budur*, 57-58.

53. *Ibid.*, 57, 63-69.

54. Halepota, *Philosophy of Shah Wali Allah*, 114-115.

55. *Ibid.*

of living on the bases of a further division of labour, specialisation and improvement of the means of production and earning a livelihood.

Hikmat-i-Manazil

The wisdom of domestic life deals with the problems of family life. The relations between husband and wife give rise not only to the responsibility towards childrens but towards other relations, friends of the family, servants and others along with the problems of a joint family.⁵⁶ In this regard the wisdom of domestic life patrons to rearing childrens, married life, slavery, responsibilities towards relatives and management and manners of companionship.⁵⁷ In *Hujjat*, Shah Wali Allah discusses the problem under the caption "Tadbir-i-Manazil".

Hikmat-i-Ta'muliyah

The development of business contract relations and exchange of goods with others.⁵⁸ Wisdom of mutual dealing concerns purchase and sale, giving presents and loans lending money, mortgage, etc.⁵⁹

Hikmat-i-Ta'wuniyah

Wisdom of co-operation relates to security problems, silent partnership, commercial enterprises, power of attorney and tenure.

In this way a complex structure of society develops. Among all the wisdom of earning livelihood, mutual dealing and co-operation represent various aspects of the conduct of economic life.

***Al-Madina* the city-state**

During the second *Irtifaq* the society expands itself into a form of wide unity that develops *Siyasat-i-Madinah* the state of civic politics. To Shah Wali Allah a real state is not a fortress, lofty buildings and trading centres, a form of unity between different sections of human society which comes out as a consequences of the five departments of life. It links

56. *Budur*, 58, 77-80.

57. *Hujjat*, 117-120.

58. *Budur*, 58, 80-84.

59. *Hujjat*, 123.

together the various groups of society through diverse forms giving them a central unity and integrity.⁶⁰

To safeguard the state and its unity, society creates a form of government for the city-state and develops it which results in the third *Irtifaq*.

Third *Irtifaq*: state government

This is a natural outcome of the second *Irtifaq*. Unity of different classes leads humanity towards further development, a state government for the preservation of unity and establishment of administration. This is called by Shah Wali Allah a national state and government.

By the working of the five departments of the second *Irtifaq* various forms and activities come into existence. These groups by their unifying links form the body of a city-state. Then emerges the need of a state government to preserve unity and to solve mutual problems. For the purpose state acquires five essential developments in relation to their peculiar problems under one body.

1. Executive (Shahryar)

When people of perverted disposition and prenicious activities prevail over other people and begin to influence life, the city state becomes disordered. There arises the need for a strong body to take different and punitive measures against such people and equitable and civilised methods must be adopted. This is done by the executive.⁶¹

2. Judiciary (*Qazi*)

With the development of mutual relations, greed and disregard of other people's rights enter social life and disagreement and disputes take place. If the disputes are not settled, it will inevitably result in discord and complete ruin of the state. This called for the need of a leader. For that purpose there must be an institution in which one may take refuge for an equitable settlement of disputes, and when someone violate these decisions the people need a Judiciary to keep much elements in control.

60. *Budur*, 83.

61. *Ibid.*, 84.

3. Military (*Jihad*)

In a society some people often take to violent activities such as murder, robbery or rebellion and deliberately try to disturb the peace and order of the city-state, either for the acquisition of property, possession of land, or attainment of power and position or for the satisfaction of personal revenge or because of religious bigotry. In order to prevent these misfortunes a defence force based on customary constitution is essential.⁶²

4. Public works (*Niqabah*)

An advanced state needs some sort of institutions to look after the welfare of the people, to find out the ways and means of doing works that people are unable to do themselves, and to construct public buildings and public works. It is called *Niqabah*.

5. Education (*T'aleem*)

The need of the state require that its people should be well instructed, both in the spheres of livelihood, necessary for a high standard of living in conformity with social progress and development of two previous stages of the evolution. For that purpose the state needs to develop a system of education.⁶³

6. Leadership (*Imamah* or kingship)

Shah Wali Allah is of the opinion that these departments cannot possibly be administered separately but under one leader (*Imam*). As he visualises leadership, it is not itself the government but includes all the above mentioned departments and their respective heads.

By analysing human nature, he traces the necessity of a leader. Man by nature has both angelic and bestial qualities and needs a leader to show him the right way.⁶⁴ So during the first phase of human development, leadership appears in the form of a guardian of the family and in the second it appears in the form of a principal.⁶⁵

62. *Ibid.*, 85.

63. *Hujjat*, 211.

64. *Ibid.*

65. *Budur*, 83.

In the city-state the administration cannot be established separately for each department or by one person but a group or hierarchy, with the *Imam* or king as its head.⁶⁶ In this way Shah Wali Allah presents the principle of collective responsibility.

Qualification for a leader (*Imam*)

Shah Wali Allah stresses, first of all, seven cordial virtues in a leader's personality. These he has discussed in *Badur* and are: wisdom (*Hikma*), continence (*Iffah*), magnanimity (*Samahah*), courage (*Shuja' a*), eloquence (*Fasaha*), the capacity of properly co-ordinating man's cognitive faculties and external behaviour (*Diyana*) and consistency in conduct (*Simt-i-Saliha*).⁶⁷ In this regard he writes:

Otherwise he will be a burden upon the madinah and madinah upon him so that the conditions of both will worsens. If he is not brave, he will be unable to fight against enemy force, while his subjects, will look down upon him with contempt and a sleep will be nigh urinating upon him. If he is not magnanimous, evils for which there is no remedy will soon overtake his subjects. If he is not wise he will not devise a management beneficial for the state. It is necessary that his subjects have great respect for him and that he and his forefathers are noted for laudable and brilliant actions, otherwise they will not revere and convert him which is fundamental for leadership. So he must command respect either on the ground that they have faith in his noble character, his honest conduct and his good care of them or on the ground that, in action to that, the existence of that man is required by divine planning.⁶⁸

Shah Wali Allah also points out that the leadership must be held in high esteem. For that esteem he points out two requirements.

- (a) The leader should systematically pursue the development of the five departments of the second *Irtifaq* for gaining distinction and
- (b) the maintenance by him of high rank and redress of abuses by appropriate measures.

66. *Ibid.*, 45-54.

67. *Ibid.*, 86-87, *Hujjat*, 125-126.

68. *Budur*, 83.

Shah Wali Allah is sure that a leader having such qualities will be successful. He further advises the leader about the working of the administration.

Assisting faculty to the leadership

Shah Wali Allah is of the opinion that the leader is neither a complete government nor a state, but a head of administration who needs some assistance for running administration. For that purpose Shah Wali Allah defines seven offices: *Wazir* (Minister), superintendent of people (*Naqeeb*) commander-in-chief (*Sipah-Salar*), the commander of guards (*Amir-i-Lashkar*), Chief-Justice (*Qazi*), Chief Mufti (*Shaikh-al-Islam*), and the teacher of morality (*Wa'iz*). The leader should watch them carefully. Shah Wali Allah believes that these departments take place in the contemporary third *Irtifaq* and in the present time society they exist at the state level. In the contemporary time society is going through civilisation by means of the state. The state pursues all development taking place in the first and second *Irtifaq* and institutions developed during the third. He measures the rise and fall of the state in terms of biological and human beings. The pattern is the same as Spengler's division of civilisation into four cyclic phases based on the seasons. Ibn Khaldun too, divides the phases of development of the state on the pattern of man's: childhood, adolescence, manhood and maturity.

Shah Wali Allah's theory of the rise and fall of the state can be measured by his explanation of the Qur'an in accordance with the pious caliphate. "Like as sown corn that sendth forth its shoot and strengthenth it riseth firm upon its stalk delighting the sower".⁶⁹

In this way Shah Wali Allah explains that the state at first has a foundation and then gains strength to expand and culminates in the height of progress that it reaches.⁷⁰ By explaining the verse "and those with him are hard against the disbelievers and merciful among themselves",⁷¹ he derives third conditions for the development of the state in accordance with the pious caliphate:

- a) an idea (religion)
- b) unity among the strikers

69. Shah Wali Allah, *Izalat-al-Khafa*, (Karachi:n.d.), vol.I, 150-70.

70. The Quran, 38:29.

71. *Izalat*, 1, 150-170.

c) being hard against the enemies.

By following these conditions, a state can reach its culmination.⁷² Applying these conditions in the way cited in the verse, Shah Wali Allah takes Islam as a final religion under which the development of the pious caliphate took place, a complete form of state for a universal model. This is the completion of the third *Irtifaq* and beginning of the fourth.

According to him a powerful state fulfils all the needs related to all the three *Irtifaqat* which result in the rise of civilisation and culture and brings prosperity to the society. But, if during the process of culmination the state loses its duties of fulfilling the responsibilities in accordance with the three *Irtifaqat*, decline of the state as well as of society begins to appear very fast.

Shah Wali Allah is of the firm view that the principles of the *Irtifaqat* are same for all the human societies, but their measures and ways may be different. No group can ignore these needs and necessities. Its principles are determined in every age and in every nation. Only animal and irrational beings can deny it. These are in firm accordance with man's righteous nature and can never be wrong.⁷³ These *Irtifaqat* are based on customs and it is customs that preserve the *Irtifaqat*. These customs are based on revelations, and religion refines them.⁷⁴

***Irtifaqat* and religion**

Generally the *Irtifaqat* are taken to mean socio-economic development but Shah Wali Allah includes them under religion. He studies the *Irtifaqat* as an outcome of religious development. By the atmosphere created by religion the *Irtifaqat* develop through revelation.⁷⁵ The first *Irtifaq* was completed during the time of Adam, the second was enunciated by Idrees and Solomon had the knowledge of the second and third and built the first state.⁷⁶ Among the *Irtifaqat*, he measures the period of the decline of religion as the age of ignorance (*Daur-i-Jahiliyat*) and

72. *Hujjat*, 133-34.

73. *Ibid.*, 135, 260.

74. Shah Wali Allah's concept of evolution seems to be evolving from his concept of revelation. To him all development, either social or material, is guided by divine revelation.

75. Shah Wali Allah, *Talhimat*, vol.i, 75.

76. B. Hardt.

determines three periods of ignorance. After discussing the unanimity of Irtifaqat, in *Hujjat*, he explains the unity of religious law (Shara'). He is of the opinion that the Irtifaqat are based on the customs that preserve them: religious law too consists of customs and aims at keeping them in accordance with the Irtifaqat by refining and reforming them. Thus Shah Wali Allah measures the development of humanity by the yardstick of religion, and sees under this development a trend of unity and unanimity.

In modern European thought the division of the temporal and the spiritual is evident in the study of human civilisation. B. Haradt has divided the human civilisation into three groups religion, culture and politics, and looks at all three as separate from each other.⁷⁷ But Shah Wali Allah lays the foundation of human development on religion, which, he says, imparts to it the concept of unity of civilisation and its development. He looks at development as an organic body that develops as a whole. He is of the opinion that if any aspect of human society does not make progress development remains incomplete and many even become abortive. So he defines the second period of ignorance as the decline of beliefs and dogmatic values, not of socio-economics.⁷⁸

August Comte has divided the development of humanity into three distinct phases:

- First, the theological or fictitious
- Second, the metaphysical or abstract and
- Third as scientific or positive.⁷⁹

Vico defines it in relevance to human activity and attitude as divine, heroic and human.⁸⁰

But Shah Wali Allah looks at the development as a whole inseparatable indivisible and definitely due to religion. He believes that the development of human society at its best appeared in Islam under its pious Caliphate. He does not defines the development under different captions but as phases and as of the view that theology, metaphysics and positivism all grow under religion in history and in fact religion is rational and is in progress towards its rational destiny.

77. *Budur*, 188.

78. Alburey Casteel, *An Introduction to Modern Philosophy*, (London: n.p., 1963), 432.

79. *Ibid.*

80. *Hujjat*, 117-118.

While Spengler, remained dissatisfied with contemporary conditions and with the future of human society, Shah Wali Allah seems to be satisfied with the development of human society towards unity, subtlety and easement. He looks at the continuity of invention and rise of universalism and subtlety along with the aesthetic sense in the form of Irtifaqat under religion, and in this way predicts the future of human society.

Future of humanity

Shah Wali Allah throws light upon the development of human society not as a prediction or a proposal, plan or suggestion, but as a settled matter and very confidently and as a generally accepted view. He sees its development in the future in the form of a universal state not as a purpose in itself but as a means to attain a subtle and elegant centre fore spiritual advancement.

He discusses the process of human evolution for the future in his system of thought under the fourth Irtifaq, and sees the solution of contemporary problems under the fourth Irtifaq. He advocates very strongly the thought that humanity is one and is going towards unity and universality rather than diversity. He is a stern believer in pantheism and the theory of evolution and looks at entire structure of the universe as one whole. Thus he is in quest of a universal state and society for the future.

Toynabee in his voluminous *A Study of History* lays great emphasis on religion like Ibn Khaldun and St. Augustine. Toynbee proposes the adoption of a universal religion by combining the five world faiths: Islam, Christianity, Budhism, Judaism and Hindusim, to help in the establishment of universal state to solve current problems of human society.⁸¹ Shah Wali Allah highlights the same thing under the process of history.

As discussed earlier, he is of the opinion that socio-economic development in the world took place under the four religious Irtifaqat. The fourth and final one, the spiritual and religious Irtifaq has taken place under Islam. Shah Wali Allah believes that Islam is the final religion and combines in itself all goodness and mobility not only of divine religions but also of the divine will. To him Islam prescribes solutions to all the

81. *Hujjat*, 302.

problems of human society.⁸² He holds that just as the evolution of the universe culminated in its highest form in man, in the same way the highest form of human development is Islam, and that the fourth and final Irtifaq of human society will take place under Islam.⁸³ He says that the pious Caliphate presents a model for the future and because of this he calls the future state "*Khilafah*" and its leader as "*Khalifah*". It will consist of entire human society under one "*Millat-i-Quswa*" (the greatest nation).

Shah Wali Allah explains that when different states are in conflict with each other it results in heavy loss of life and livelihood and disruption of Irtifaqat. Re-establishment of order becomes the need of human society in that situation. That is why to deal with that situation, he suggests a confederation of states which he names as "*Khilafah*". He is of the opinion that when leaders are at variance with one another, a God inspired fortunate person comes to power, and establishes the "*Khilafah*". For the administrative purposes, he appoints the same offices and establishes the same institutions at higher level as those of "*Al-Madina*".⁸⁴

Shah Wali Allah is optimistic enough to foresee a universal state in the future based on the natural properties of man, *Al-Rai-Kulli*, *Zarafah* and *Takammul*, with special emphasis on *Zarafah*. He thinks the unity of human society is evident from its development. He is of the opinion that human society's failure to achieve the fruits of any one *Irtifaq* is due to some deficiencies in its founding *Irtifaq* or preceding development. When such a failure occurs human society returns to the basic level, and then after refining it comes forward again. As an example he equates the case of Alexander of Greece who tried to develop a fourth Irtifaq, but when he failed, his empire returned to the city state again.⁸⁵ On the same lines he also judges the history of Islam. To him the Islamic caliphate in its truest sense remained active till the time of Hazrat Umar and deficient to some extent during the times of Hazrat Uthman and Hazrat Ali.⁸⁶ But later rulers appeared as *Maluk* (Kings) and not as caliphs. This view shows that when Muslims failed to establish a universal state, they returned to the third Irtifaq to strengthen the base for further development. However,

82. *Ibid.*, 214-225, 266.

83. *Budur*, 4th Irtifaq.

84. *Ibid.*, 106-8.

85. See *Izalat*, I.

86. Muhammad Al-Ghazali.

Shah Wali Allah does not deal with the later history and tries to solve the problems emerging during the third *Irtifaq*..⁸⁷ He also aims at reforming the structure of Islam so that it can meet the challenge of a universal state. With this end in mind he refines the whole system of Islam under *Ilm-i-Asrar-i-Din*⁸⁸ as Iqbal too acknowledged.⁸⁹ He tries to prove that Islam is a rational religion and is in a complete accordance with the needs of all mankind.

Ultimate destiny

It seems to that Shah Wali Allah man is going towards ultimate unity. He does not mean mere physical unity of the species on earth, but something beyond that. As a practical mystic he was a stern believer in unity and was aiming to be one with God. The same concept he highlights in his system.

The most important feature of Shah Wali Allah's system is the very prominent place of man in the universe. He recognises the system of universe in terms of human organs and calls the universe *Shakhs-i-Akbar* (the great person) and its centre as *Qalb* (heart) which is the centre of the most supreme Theophany (*Tajalli-i-Zaam*) and is directly connected with God's will. He claims for man a status beyond that which the material world gives him same as Iqbal's concept of *khuddi*.⁹⁰ Shah Wali Allah believes that since man originated in God and that is why he ever remains conscious of this and wants to be near him.⁹¹

To Shah Wali Allah, a person having the qualities and attributes of *Insan-i-Kabir* (the ideal man of Alam-i-Mithal) comes into contact with

87. *Hujjat*, Introduction.

88. To Iqbal the process of History is the synonym with the development of *Khudi*. In his preface to *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi* he says: As an individual's will to act, aspirations for higher values and realisation of an end lie in the gradual unfolding, extension and stability of his *Khudi*. Similarly, the secrets of the life of a nation or a *millat* lies in the realisation and preservation of history. He says God himself is an individual. Man is also an individual and the highest form of life in man is *Khudi*. (For details see Usman Ramz, 'Iqbal's Philosophy of History — An Analysis and Comparison', *Iqbal Review*, vol. iv, 70-73.

89. Allama Iqbal, *Reconstruction of Religion Thought in Islam*, (Lahore: Muhammad Ashraf, 1984), 97.

90. Iqbal's concept of "*Khudi*" is an example of his imagination and thought towards man's role in the universe.

91. *Hujjat*, 199.

the angelic spheres and the Holy Circle. Shah Wali Allah includes man in the Mala-i-Ala (Sublime Assembly) and gives him a place in the Holy Circle.⁹² He believes that an *Arif-i-Kamil* (perfect Gnostic) can have all these properties and have direct contacts with the Holy Circle as a member of the Sublime Assembly. A perfect *Arif* is more advanced, spiritually, than any one else and than the whole universe except the Ultimate Being, the properties of His name and His emanation,⁹³ and has access to the most subtle, gentle and spiritual centres.

The same concept and place Shah Wali Allah determines for human society. It seems that to Shah Wali Allah the *Irtifaqat* are not necessary by themselves but for the true practice of *Iqtirabat* or spiritual *Irtifaqat*. A man satisfied with his socio-economic needs will be able to practise, *Iqtrabat* which is used for spiritual and dogmatic practices. By determining a universal state, Shah Wali Allah is looking for the solution of all contemporary problems of human society. That state would be able to seek out new spheres of universe for collective advancement. By practising the *Iqtarabat* he wants to see human society united with the *Insan-i-Kabir* an having access to the Holy Circle and to be able to become a member of the Sublime Assembly.

If we look at the literal meanings of the word "*Irtifaq*", it could be explained in these words: "subtle, soft, gentle and easement". Among these, easement shows some deficiency and man's ultimate development appears for softness and subtlety and gentleness. These are the qualities of the most high among the entities and creations. The process of unity that Shah Wali Allah visualises in the development of human will come to conclusion in the form of human society with the subtle and soft spheres, entities and creations which consist of the *Alam-i-Arwah*, *Alam-i-Mithal* or un-apparent world.

In connection with the destiny of mankind, Shah Wali Allah expresses firm belief in the concept of "*Raja'at*" as presented in the Quran and Pantheism. It means everything is joining its origin. The concept is based on Quranic theology. It shows that man is granted subtle spiritual powers,⁹⁴ that he practises as an *Arif*. Man is going to have a collective access to these subtle spiritual centres. Among them it is *Hazirat-al-Quds*

92. *Hujjat*, 50-59.

93. Shah Wali Allah, *Fuzul-Haramain*, (Lahore: n.p., 1947), section 26.

94. For details see Shah Wali Allah's writings *Hama'at*, *Intibah*, *Budur*, and especially, *Altaf al-Quds*.

towards which all human society flows.⁹⁵ The universe is based on oneness linked with God, and, in this way, the process of evolution is constantly going on in the entire universe along with man. Discussing the concept of “*Sa’adah*” (happiness) Shah Wali Allah defines it very clearly. His belief is that although civilised morals, good socio-economics, high industries and great respect of high institutions and offices are taken as the aim of all the nations, that is not the *Sa’adah* or happiness for which man is making efforts day and night. Man needs happiness which can be achieved through a combination with the Sublime Assembly and having an access to the Holy Circle by domination of angelic qualities over bestial qualities, through spiritual practices, (*Wazaiif, Ibadat* and *Award*).⁹⁶

In this regard the central concept and idea of *Irtifaqat* presents an idea of unity not only with temporal manifestation but also with spiritual entities and with God Himself.

In short to Shah Wali Allah development of human society is based on natural law of evolution and consist of the triad of human intellect universality of purpose, aesthetic sense and urge for perfection. Religion is the foundation stone of this development. He divides the historical development of human society into four periods of civilisation, nomad, village, city-state, and universal state, according to their respective contribution, and three of ignorance. That development has a universality of purpose and approach, but diversity in methods, mean and ways. These periods have respective importance and each contains the qualities of its predecessor. Among them, he presents first three as historical development and last one as future predication. To him unity of mankind by itself and with its mystical origin is the final destination of human being towards which the progress of human society is going on.

95. *Hujjat*, 105.

96. *Ibid.*, 137-139.